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FROM: PARIS

TO: Secretary of State

NO: POLTO 2120, JANUARY 28, 9 PM (SECTION ONE)

SENT DEPARTMENT POLTO 2120; REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON
POLTO 563, BONN POLTO 347, MOSCOW POLTO 114.

NAC MEETING JANUARY 28 -- BERLIN AND GERMANY

DISCUSSION OF BERLIN AND GERMAN PROBLEM IN TODAY'S PRIVATE MEETING OF COUNCIL HIGHLIGHTED BY INSISTENCE OTHER DELEGATIONS THAT FOUR POWERS, IN FORMULATING RESPONSE TO JANUARY 10 SOVIET NOTE AND FORMULATING WESTERN SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS GIVE OTHER NATO GOVERNMENTS ADEQUATE TIME AND OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS AND HAVE THESE VIEWS CONSIDERED BY COUNCIL BEFORE FOUR-POWER POSITIONS FINALIZED. COUNCIL AGREED PROBLEM SHOULD BE KEPT ON AGENDA ALTHOUGH UNDERSTOOD ACTION WOULD AWAIT RECEIPT OF FOUR-POWER DRAFT REPLY TO SOVIET NOTE. THERE WAS INSISTENT AND STRONG EXPRESSION FOR PROMPT DISCUSSION OF PRELIMINARY VIEWS OF FOUR POWERS ON BOTH REPLY AND QUESTION OF SUBSTANCE.

UNITED STATES REP OPENED DISCUSSION WITH ORAL STATEMENT ALONG LINES TOPOL 2461 WHICH HAD BEEN COORDINATED WITH UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE, AND GERMANY. IN RESPONSE QUESTIONS, EMPHASIZED DRAFT REPLY TO SOVIET JANUARY 10 NOTE WOULD BE SUBMITTED FOR NAC DISCUSSION IN FEBRUARY BUT COULD NOT RPT NOT GIVE PRECISE DATE AND ASSURED THAT, IN MEANTIME, CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF GERMAN PROBLEM IN NAC AND IDEAS OF OTHER DELEGATIONS WOULD BE WELCOME.

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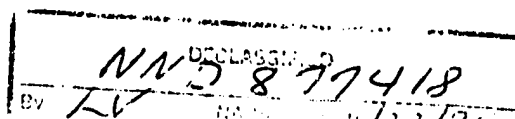
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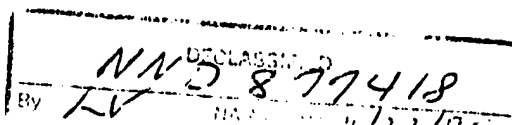
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FRANCE AND UNITED KINGDOM EXPRESSED AGREEMENT WITH UNITED STATES STATEMENT. FRENCH PERMREP STATED PROBLEM HAD TWO ASPECTS: 1) REPLY TO SOVIET NOTE WHICH WAS FIRST STAGE AND WHICH SHOULD DEAL WITH PROCEDURES AND NOT SUBSTANCE; 2) QUESTION OF SUBSTANCE OF WESTERN POSITION WHICH WAS DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX. FRENCH GOVERNMENT STUDYING THE PROBLEM BUT LIKE UNITED STATES HAD REACHED NO CONCLUSIONS AS YET AND THEREFORE COULD NOT RPT NOT GIVE VIEWS TO NAC. UNITED KINGDOM SPOKE ALONG SIMILAR LINE. INDICATED UNITED KINGDOM VIEW THAT REPLY TO SOVIETS SHOULD BE GOTTEN OFF BY MID-FEBRUARY. STRESSED FOUR-POWER DRAFT REPLY WOULD BE GIVEN TO COUNCIL FOR DISCUSSION AND NOT RPT NOT AS FINAL DOCUMENT.

BELGIUM AND SECGEN TOOK LEAD IN EXPRESSING COUNCIL CONCERN LEST PROCEDURES ENVISAGED BY FOUR POWERS FOR DRAFTING RESPONSE SOVIET NOTE AND REVIEWING WESTERN SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS NOT GIVE ADEQUATE OPPORTUNITY FOR EXPRESSION AND CONSIDERATION VIEWS OF OTHER COUNTRIES. BELGIUM PERMREP, WHILE RECOGNIZING SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF FOUR POWERS, STRESSED ALL NATO GOVERNMENTS HAD INTEREST IN PROBLEM ARISING FROM POSSIBLE APPLICATION NATO TREATY AND FACT ALL RECEIVED NOTES FROM SOVIETS. POINTED UP DIFFICULTIES FOR BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER WHO WAS CONFRONTED WITH QUESTIONS IN SENATE AND WHO COULD NOT VERY WELL REPLY SIMPLY THAT FOUR POWERS WERE DISCUSSING IT. FELT, MOREOVER, SINCE FOUR POWERS SEEMINGLY HAD NO RPT NO FIRM VIEWS AS YET IN MATTER, IT COULD PROFITABLY BE DISCUSSED IN COUNCIL. SUGGESTED ALL GOVERNMENTS MIGHT DRAFT REPLIES TO SOVIET NOTES AND SUBMIT THEM TO COUNCIL WHERE COMMON REPLY MIGHT BE HAMMERED OUT. ALTERNATIVELY SUGGESTED SPAAK MIGHT SUBMIT TO COUNCIL DRAFT REPLY BASED ON HIS PREVIOUS NAC STATEMENT (PO/59/116).

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SPAAK GENERALLY AGREED WITH BELGIUM ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT TAKE UP LATTER'S SUGGESTIONS. POINTED OUT DIFFICULTIES FOR CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURES IN NATO AND EMBARRASSMENT FOR NATO GOVERNMENTS WHO ALSO HAD PUBLIC OPINIONS TO CONTEND WITH, ARISING FROM INABILITY OF FOUR-POWERS TO GIVE VIEWS ON PROBLEM AT THIS TIME. COULD NOT RPT NOT UNDERSTAND TWO-STAGE PROCESS OF REPLYING TO SOVIET NOTE AND DETERMINING WESTERN POSITIONS, BELIEVING IT DANGEROUS FOR WEST TO REPLY TO SOVIET NOTE OR AGREE TO GO TO CONFERENCE WITHOUT HAVING STUDIED AND AGREED ON POSITIONS. ADMITTED SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF FOUR POWERS, BUT STATED OTHER NATO GOVERNMENTS ALSO HAD PROBLEM OF REPLYING TO SOVIET NOTES. MORE IMPORTANT, POSSIBILITY OF INCIDENTS IN BERLIN, WHICH MIGHT INVOKE TREATY, CARRIED MATTER BEYOND FOUR-POWERS. RECALLED THAT IN DISCUSSIONS OF SUMMIT LAST SPRING, WESTERN POWERS HAD INSISTED CONFERENCE MUST BE PREPARED IN ADVANCE BUT NOW APPARENTLY READY TO ACCEPT CONFERENCE WITHOUT SUCH PREPARATION. FELT THAT WHILE PRESENT PROCEDURE NOT RPT NOT NECESSARILY BAD, PLACED OTHER NATO COUNTRIES IN DIFFICULT POSITION. FEARED THAT FOUR POWERS, IN BRINGING DRAFT REPLY AND DECISIONS ON WESTERN POSITION TO COUNCIL, WOULD STRESS DIFFICULTIES IN REACHING AGREEMENT AND THEREFORE ASK THAT NO RPT NO CHANGES BE MADE IN POSITIONS AGREED AFTER SO MUCH EFFORT. THIS NOT RPT NOT REAL CONSULTATION. SPAAK ALSO COMPLAINED AT SLOW PACE OF PREPARATION OF WESTERN POSITIONS.

ITALY, NORWAY, TURKEY, NETHERLANDS, AND CANADA ALL STRESSED NEED FOR FOUR POWERS ALLOWING ADEQUATE OPPORTUNITY FOR NATO CONSULTATION. NORWAY ALSO EMPHASIZED REPLY TO SOVIET NOTE SHOULD NOT RPT NOT BE DRAFTED IN SUCH WAY AS TO PREJUDICE REEXAMINATION OF SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS.

SHOULD ALSO

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SHOULD ALSO GIVE CONSIDERATION TO SPAAK VIEWS EXPRESSED
PARA VII, (5)PO/59/116. NETHERLANDS PERMREP, WHILE AGREEING
WITH IDEA OF PROCEDURAL REPLY, VOICED DIFFICULTIES OF
COUNCIL CONSIDERING SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS ONLY AFTER FOUR
POWERS HAD REACHED AGREEMENT ON POSITIONS. INSISTED WHEN
TIME COMES TO DISCUSS SUBSTANCE, ALL NATO COUNTRIES SHOULD
PARTICIPATE AND NOT RPT NOT ONLY FOUR POWERS. SUGGESTED
EUROPEAN SECURITY COMMITTEE BE ASKED TO PREPARE SUBSTANTIVE
POSITIONS FOR FULL COUNCIL DISCUSSION.

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FROM: PARIS

TO: Secretary of State

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CANADA STATED DESIRE TO HAVE CONTINUING COUNCIL DISCUSSION OF PROBLEM EVEN WHILE DISCUSSIONS OF FOUR POWERS WERE TAKING PLACE IN WASHINGTON. IN EXPRESSING AGREEMENT WITH VIEWS EXPRESSED BY SPAAK, BELGIUM AND NORWAY, WONDERED IF FOUR POWERS COULD NOT RPT NOT GIVE COUNCIL OUTLINE OF THEIR DRAFT REPLY AND SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS BEFORE THEY HAD JELLED OR FINALIZED. COULD GIVE HEADINGS AND REVIEW OF POINTS TO BE INCLUDED. ALSO SUGGESTED THAT AFTER WASHINGTON MEETING OF EXPERTS OF FOUR POWERS, LATTER MIGHT COME TO PARIS TO HARMONIZE WORK OF FOUR-POWER GROUP AND COUNCIL.

UNITED STATES, IN REPLYING TO VIEWS EXPRESSED IN DISCUSSION, AGREED THAT, IN DRAFTING PROCEDURAL REPLY TO SOVIET NOTE, WE SHOULD KNOW WHERE WE ARE LIKELY TO COME OUT AND ALL GOVERNMENTS STUDYING THIS. EMPHASIZED UNITED STATES STATEMENT INTENDED MAINLY TO LAY TENDENTIOUS PRESS RUMORS (REFERRED TO BY SPAAK LAST MEETING) AND NOT RPT NOT DESIGNED TO INDICATE ANYTHING BUT COMPLETE RECEPTIVITY TO IDEAS AND VIEWS EXPRESSED IN NAC AT ANYTIME. UNITED KINGDOM POINTED OUT PROCEDURES SUGGESTED FOR DRAFTING REPLY AND DETERMINING WESTERN POSITION WERE THOSE FOLLOWED IN NAC. SUGGESTION THAT ALL FIFTEEN NATO COUNTRIES GATHER AROUND TABLE TO PERFORM THESE TASKS WOULD BE NEW PROCEDURE BUT IF ALL DESIRED THIS, UNITED KINGDOM WOULD GO ALONG. FRANCE INTERJECTED THAT IDEA OF CONFERENCE NOT RPT NOT NEW, HAD BEEN ACCEPTED BY NAC LAST YEAR. INSOFAR AS FRANCE COULD SAY, REPLY TO SOVIET NOTE WOULD BE DRAFTED QUICKLY AND

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AND THERE WAS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR BELIEF THAT TEXT
COULD NOT RPT NOT BE CHANGED BECAUSE OF DIFFICULT PROCESS
OF SECURING AGREEMENT AMONG FOUR.

IN SUMMARIZING DISCUSSION, SPAAK EMPHASIZED 1) ALL
NATO COUNTRIES HAVE CONCERN IN BERLIN AND GERMAN PROBLEMS
BECAUSE OF APPLICATION OF TREATY, AND 2) DANGEROUS FOR
CONSULTATION IN NATO TO INFER CERTAIN COUNTRIES (I.E.
FOUR POWERS) CANNOT RPT NOT TAKE PART IN DISCUSSION BECAUSE
GOVERNMENTS HAVE NOT RPT NOT TAKEN FINAL POSITION ON SUBSTANTIVE
PROBLEMS. REGARDING REPLY TO BE DRAFTED BY FOUR POWERS,
NOT RPT NOT SURE DISTINCTION COULD BE MADE BETWEEN PROCEDURE
AND SUBSTANCE OR THAT REPLY SHOULD NOT RPT NOT CONTAIN
STATEMENT OF WESTERN POSITION. CAN AGREE, HOWEVER, THAT
REPLY SHOULD BE PROCEDURAL ALTHOUGH SINGLE POINT OF UNDERSTANDING
IS AGREEMENT TO CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS GERMAN PROBLEM.

SPAAK AGREED, ON REQUEST OF CANADA, THAT BERLIN ITEM BE
KEPT ON COUNCIL AGENDA ALTHOUGH HE WAS OF OPINION THAT
COUNCIL HAD REACHED END OF DISCUSSION FOR TIME BEING TO
AWAIT FOUR-POWER DRAFTING. EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, PROCEDURE
SHOULD NOT RPT NOT RESULT IN IDEAS OF OTHER NATO
COUNTRIES BEING REJECTED WITHOUT COUNCIL DISCUSSION AND
CONSIDERATION.

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